

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 ARAE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04

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P R 151830Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2254

INFO AMEMBASSY BRIDGETOWN

AMEMBASSY KINGSTON

AMEMBASSY KINSAHASA

AMEMBASSY PORT OF SPAIN

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GEORGETOWN 0085

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GY AO

SUBJ: GUYANA WILL RECOGNIZE MPLA THIS WEEK

REF: GEORGETOWN 0007

1. DURING CONVERSATION MORNING JAN 15 ON ANOTHER SUBJECT, FONMIN WILLS TOLD ME "UNOFFICIALLY" THAT GOG WILL FORMALLY RECOGNIZE MPLA AS GOVERNMENT OF ANGOLA THIS WEEK. I TOLD HIM THAT WHILE WE OBVIOUSLY CONSIDER THIS AS GUYANA'S SOVEREIGN RIGHT, WE CLEARLY WILL BE DISAPPOINTED SINCE SUCH RECOGNITION WOULD TEND TO WORK AGAINST THE EFFORTS BY OURSELVES, ZAMBIA AND OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO ENCOURAGE A COALITION GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA. I ALSO REPEATED THE ARGUMENT THAT THE MPLA CONTROLS MINORITY OF ANGOLA'S PEOPLE AND TERRITORY AND IS PROPPED UP BY RUSSIANS AND CUBANS. COMMENT: AFTER BURNHAM'S EARLIER STATEMENTS PLEDGING FULL SUPPORT TO THE MPLA, FORMAL RECOGNITION IS HARDLY SURPRISING.

2. WILLS THEN LAUNCHED INTO A LENGTHY DEFENCE OF THE GOG'S POLICY ON SUPPORTING ANY FORCE OR ANY NATION THAT  
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WAS OPPOSED TO SOUTH AFRICA. HE SAID THIS WAS THE

MAJOR "GUT" ISSUE OF GOG FOREIGN POLICY. "IF THE DEVIL WERE OPPOSED TO SOUTH AFRICA, I THINK WE WOULD ALLY OURSELVES WITH THE DEVIL." IN RESPONSE TO MY QUESTION WHY GUYANA SEEMED TO PUSH OTHER INTERESTS ASIDE IN THIS CONFRONTATION WHILE SO-CALLED FRONT LINE NATIONS SUCH AS ZAMBIA ADOPTED A MUCH MORE MODERATE POLICY, WILLS WENT INTO THE "DIASPORA" ARGUMENT. BLACKS OUTSIDE AFRICA, ACCORDING TO WILLS, HAVE LOST THEIR TRIBAL IDENTITIES AND THEREBY TEND TO LOOK UPON THEMSELVES AS AFRICANS, WHILE THOSE IN AFRICA, THOUGH OFTEN BY LIFE STYLE DETRIBALIZED, STILL RETAIN AN EMOTIONAL TRIBAL IDENTIFICATION. SINCE SOUTH AFRICA DISCRIMINATES AGAINST OTHER AFRICANS BUT NOT SPECIFICALLY AGAINST BEMBA OR LOZI (I.E. TRIBES WHICH WERE NOT REPRESENTED IN SOUTH AFRICAN TERRITORY) THERE IS MUCH MORE ANTISOUTH AFRICAN FEELING AMONG LEADERS AND INTELLECTUALS IN GUYANA OR JAMAICA THAN IN A COUNTRY LIKE ZAMBIA.

3. WILLS SAID HE IS CONVINCED THAT ANGOLA WILL BE PARTITIONED, WITH THE NORTHERN PART UNDER MPLA AND THE SOUTHERN PART INCLUDING BENGUELA RAILWAY UNDER UNITA. HE CLAIMED THAT HE HAS AN EXCELLENT AUTHORITY THAT MOBUTU IS ALREADY WITHDRAWING SUPPORT FROM HOLDEN ROBERTO AND SWITCHING IT TO SAVIMBI. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, HE SAID GUYANA UNLIKELY TO RECOGNIZE UNITA REGIME EVEN IF IT SURVIVES FOR SOME MONTHS OR YEARS, BECAUSE OF ITS SOUTH AFRICAN LINKS. IN RESPONSE TO MY FOLLOW-UP QUESTION, HE SAID THAT MPLA'S SOCIALIST POLICY AS CONTRASTED WITH UNITA'S WESTERN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL OUTLOOK WAS ALSO A FACTOR AGAINST UNITA FROM GUYANA'S POINT OF VIEW, BUT WAS OF LESS IMPORTANCE. HE SAID HE BELIEVES THAT MPLA WILL EVENTUALLY KICK THE RUSSIANS OUT AND BECOME ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST.

4. I WAS UNSUCCESSFUL IN DRAWING WILLS OUT ON CUBAN MILITARY SUPPLY FLIGHTS THROUGH GUYANA AFTER MPLA RECOGNITION OTHER THAN TO GET HIS COMMENT THAT HE THOUGHT THE QUESTION WAS BECOMING MOOT SINCE THE RUSSIANS AND CUBANS PROBABLY HAD ALL THE MEN THEY NEEDED THERE ALREADY. HE DID NOT RESPOND TO MY  
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COMMENT THAT TROOPS WOULD NEED TO BE ROTATED. COMMENT: THE QUESTION PROBABLY IS MOOT, BUT NOT FOR THE REASON WILLS ALLEGED. IN MY OPINION, THE CONSTRAINTS ON CUBAN FLIGHTS THROUGH GUYANA ARE THE TECHNICAL LACK OF ADEQUATE REFUELING FACILITIES FOR MORE THAN AN OCCASIONAL FLIGHT AND TEXACO'S APPARENT UNWILLINGNESS TO REFUEL, NOT ANY RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF BURNHAHD AND THE GOG AND CERTAINLY NOT ANY UNWILLINGNESS TO

OFFEND THE USG.  
MATTHEWS

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